WHAT IMPERIALISM MEANS—*Page 7*

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 75 London: November 20, 1937 2d.

Just a Bargain or Real Peace?

REAL CAUSE OF ANGLO-GERMAN TENSION REVEALED

WHATEVER Lord Halifax has told or learnt from Herr Hitler, the important thing must be the action that is taken after the visit to Berlin.

That some kind of settlement must be reached with Germany (at least) if war is to be averted is realized by everyone—not least by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, as he showed both at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London and when he spoke in Edinburgh last Friday.

But is it to be a settlement between two countries only—a mere bargaining or bartering of advantages for the sake of easing the politicians' paths—or is it to be a lasting settlement which will remove the fear of war from all people for ever because it removes the occasion of all wars?

Pacifists have a practical policy for achieving the latter object **now.**

Empire & the World

ARE we trying to make a world in which the peoples that inhabit it shall be able to live out their lives in peace of mind and in the enjoyment of a constantly rising standard of all that makes life worth living . . . or are we preparing for ourselves a future which is to be one perpetual nightmare, filled with the constant dread of the horrors of war?

I am convinced that the aim of every statesman worthy of the name, to whatever country he belongs, must be the happiness of the people for whom and to whom he is responsible, and in that faith I am sure that a way can, and will, be found to free the world from the curse of armaments and the fears that give rise to them.—Mr. Neville Chamberlain in London, November 9.

It is time that another effort was made to see if it is possible to remove the fears and suspicions that every country seems to have about its neighbours by a closer examination of their origin and substance.

I have faith in human nature. Because I have that faith I believe that there will be a ready response to such an appeal.—Mr. Neville Chamberlain in Edinburgh, November 12.

Clearly it was in an effort to remove the "fears and suspicions" of which the Premier spoke that Lord Halifax went to Berlin this week.

But no lasting peace can be reached until it is realized that the problem is not one of merely smoothing the relations between Britain and Germany as European neighbours. It affects also those "British interests," the protection of which Mr. Chamberlain at Edinburgh said was the first point guiding our foreign policy.

Thus an article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* declared that

If Germany, with its new power, still seems enigmatical to England, the reason for this is not to be found in direct German-English relations, but in the relations of the British Empire to the world of today.

British imperialism is thus shown to be the cause of the tension, and it is with the **cause** that the practical policy put forward by pacifists would deal. That policy, involving the calling of a conference to remove grievances, was outlined by George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, and the late Dr. Sheppard in a letter published in *The Times* recently, in which they advocated:

(*a*) The abandonment of the weapons of economic war, in the shape of tariffs, quotas, and currency restrictions.

(*b*) The abandonment of the private ownership of colonial possessions in favour of the extension of a revised mandate system to all non-self-governing territories, and the establishment of an international colonial service as the instrument of the new experiment in international cooperation.

"Our experience," they added, "supports the view that the people of this country are now ready to endorse such measures to secure peace," a fact to which the East Dorset petition—reported on page two—is a witness.

Similar was the theme of a statement (also given on page two) on the Far Eastern conflict issued by the Friends' Peace Committee, and sent to Mr. Eden and to the chairman of the conference of the Powers in Brussels—which will meet again on Monday to "consider what is to be their common attitude" in accordance with their reply to Japan's refusal to negotiate.

"SACKED" FOR WEARING PEACE POPPIES

Special to PEACE NEWS

TWO men were "sacked" on Armistice Day for wearing white (peace) poppies.

Both are members of the Peace Pledge Union and both had taken that organization's official advice to wear red ones as well.

The facts of this straightforward case of victimization were given to PEACE NEWS as the men concerned feel it may affect members of the pacifist movement.

"In the afternoon of November 11," said one of the men to a PEACE NEWS reporter, "our employer specially returned to the office and called one of us into his room. The other was temporarily absent at the bank.

"The following conversation ensued."

Employer: What does that thing stand for?

Employee: It stands for the Peace Pledge Union, sir.

Employer: You are being hoodwinked by a lot of crooks, and it is an absolute insult to the company. You people who will not fight for the country are no good at all. I cannot have it in my office. Either you stop wearing the thing or you take a month's notice.

Employee: I have a religious principle for my opinion, sir.

Employer: Your religious principle is crooked compared with mine.

Employee: I am sorry you see it in that way, sir.

Employer: Well I do.

Both men are accordingly now under notice, and if anyone is able to assist in finding them fresh situations, such offers should be sent to the office of this newspaper, whence they will be forwarded to the men (whose names, for obvious reasons, we are withholding). Their qualifications include

More than seven years' experience of accounts; shorthand and typing; passed intermediate examinations in accountancy; taking finals.

They are aged 23 and 24.

White poppies, purchased in bulk from the Women's Cooperative Guild, were sold in their hundreds at the Peace Pledge Union's headquarters last week, so great was the demand. The profits went to the War Resisters' International.

The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Leeds attended the local Armistice Day ceremony wearing white poppies.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF DICK SHEPPARD

THERE is evidence of a widespread demand for copies of the photograph of Dick Sheppard reproduced on the front page of PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago.

Copies of this photograph by Howard Coster, reduced to postcard size, are obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, price 6d., while an artist's proof of the same picture costs 5s.

Also available, price 1s., is the photograph taken at Swanwick Camp and reproduced on page three of PEACE NEWS for November 6. The same price applies to an earlier unmounted photograph by Haines showing head and shoulders.

Orders for any of these pictures should be sent to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Albert Hall (London) meeting on December 4 will be made a great demonstration for the Peace Pledge Union and to inaugurate the Memorial Fund for Dick Sheppard.

The appeal will be made by **Donald Soper, and the speakers will be**

With an Introduction by Canon H. R. L. Sheppard

LET US HONOUR PEACE

Contributions by

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PHILIP MUMFORD — E. GRAHAM HOWE
L. B. PEKIN — GERALD HEARD
CANON C. E. RAVEN — ELIZABETH THORNEYCROFT
VERA BRITTAIN — R. H. WARD

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COBDEN-SANDERSON

George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris, Lord Ponsonby, and the Rev. George MacLeod. A programme of music is being specially arranged.

Tickets will be free and numbered, and **application should be made at once to John Barclay, P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.**

It is hoped that as far as possible every group will be represented, but the public will be invited as well. Doors will be open at 7 p.m.: no seats will be kept after 7.30, and the meeting will commence at 7.45.

More Tributes to "Dick"

NEVER TOO BUSY TO HELP

"THE surprising thing was . . . the number of people whom Dick Sheppard knew . . . he could without effort or hesitation recall their family histories and their particular joys and sorrows."

So wrote Captain Philip Mumford in last week's PEACE NEWS. After such tributes to Dick Sheppard from P.P.U. Sponsors and other leaders, we are receiving appreciations from more humble members, some of whom have also had the opportunity of discovering this "surprising thing" about Dick Sheppard.

Thus one such member writes:

I first met this man three months ago. Two months ago I ventured to approach him on a personal problem of my own. I did so without diffidence, for, though I am a humble, inefficient person, I realized at once that here was a man never too busy or too tired to attend to anyone who applied to him for help; that here was a man of deep sincerity, humility, and kindliness, the friend and lover of all men, however commonplace, however obscure.

During the past three months I have talked with him on four occasions and have written him half-a-dozen letters. On one occasion we talked together from 4 o'clock to 5.30 in the morning. On another occasion we talked at 5 o'clock in the morning. Four of my six letters have been answered by return of post; the other two have been replied to by telephone, before 10 o'clock on the morning he received my letter.

I wrote to him the day after his election to the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University in connexion with my own commonplace little problem. He must have received by the same post hundreds, if not thousands of telegrams, letters, and postcards, but back came my answer by return of post.

"Dick" was a sensitive man but a man of immense courage and clear vision; the most human of men, but a great and true man of God.

One outside the ranks of the pacifist movement, David A. Peat, was struck by the same qualities. He writes:

I remember during the early days of the "Arbitrate First!" campaign when the going was hard, how, having been advised by Dr. [illegible] Royden to get in touch with him, he [illegible] the midst of an exceptionally busy time, a message of cheer and support.

He was booked to speak at one of our early meetings but he fell ill and doctors forbade his attendance. A few days before the demonstration some threatening letters arrived. That was too much for him, and when the hall was crowded to the doors he slipped quietly in and took his place on the platform. I shall not easily forget the look Dr. Maude Royden gave him of, it seemed to me, affection, reproach, and gratitude.

David Peat attributes "the source of his hold on people of all classes and of all degrees of intellectual attainment," to "the remarkable power he had of seeing below the surface differences to the underlying unity of human beings."

THE BEST MEMORIAL

Besides these individual tributes, peace groups and larger bodies have expressed their appreciation. The executive committee of the National Peace Council, for example, last week recorded "how deeply it shared the sense of loss which must be felt by those who are concerned in the work of the P.P.U."

Memorial services—too numerous to report adequately—have also testified to this "sense of loss." The best memorial of all, however, was indicated at one such service in Platt Chapel, Rusholme, Manchester, where the Rev. Stanley Mossop ended with an appeal to his hearers to erect a lasting monument to "Dick" in the shape of a stronger peace movement which would carry on his work.

THE Accounts Department of the Peace Pledge Union, with additional help, is doing its best to cope with the tremendous response to the Self-Denial Week Appeal.

All known subscribers will receive a receipt in due course: grateful thanks to all anonymous subscribers.—F. B. Middleton.

China War Reveals Wrong Policies

PEOPLE READY FOR A CHANGE

"THESE atrocities [in China] are part and parcel of modern war . . . war is the outcome of a military and imperial civilization that seeks success by domination and force and in this policy we are all involved."

So says a statement regarding the Far Eastern conflict issued by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, copies of which have been sent to the chairman of the Nine-Power Conference in Brussels and to Mr. Anthony Eden.

"We urge," continued the statement, "that the conference on the Far East may seek not for a cessation of hostilities alone, but for a cooperative solution of the problems of all concerned, including the liberation of international trade and the achievement of a higher standard of life for all.

"It is not only the salvation of China that is in question, but of Japan and of the world; and this means bending all our energies to the making of a different world based not upon military and financial dominance but upon justice and cooperation."

THEY TOLD THEIR M.P.

The latest evidence that the people are ready to support a British lead in this direction comes from the East Dorset constituency, where 670 electors signed a petition organized by local peace organizations, including the Peace Pledge Union, asking their Member of Parliament

> to take the earliest opportunity of impressing upon the Prime Minister the importance of H.M. Government taking the lead in calling for a world conference for ascertaining and removing the various causes of the present international unrest so gravely menacing the peace of the world.

A letter which accompanied the petition pointed out that the common people everywhere were asking **"Why, in the name of common sense, don't they get together, without their fighting-force advisers, and keep together until they have peacefully composed their differences and justly settled their grievances?"**

The "greatest sympathy" with the objects of the petition was expressed by the M.P., Mr. G. R. Hall Caine, who promised to "continue to impress upon the Prime Minister the desirability of another attempt to bring all parties together."

Reflections and Comments

THERE'S NO HALF-WAY HOUSE

says Lord Ponsonby

"THIS is hypocrisy, you are deliberately preparing for war," called out the "madman" at the Cenotaph.

He had escaped from a Mental Hospital. He is 44. Probably he fought in the War.

Madmen have a way of hitting the nail bang on the head. We've got a lot of madmen in the P.P.U., including myself.

But it came as a shock to me when I learned that now, nineteen years after the War was concluded, there are 6,000 men in mental hospitals as a result of the War. If you add to this the blind and the permanently maimed, a high figure of living casualties would still be shown.

It is all very well saying what wonderful surgical operations have been performed to save life, the fact remains that there are still some thousands of our fellow countrymen valiantly and courageously facing life with some distressing handicap.

Life is not an easy business for the healthiest of us. But with sapped vitality because of the loss of a limb, deprived of work for which they had been trained, with recurring illness from shell shock or gas or with mental instability, how many must wish they had fallen and been counted among the dead?

BUT all hideous facts are concealed. They only leak out in fragments as the years pass.

The idea of "glory" must be kept up. But I can hardly believe that many now really think there is any glory in war.

Destruction is easier and the most deadly weapons can be wielded at such a distance that the man who fires a shell or the man who releases a bomb is effectively screened from witnessing the result of his act and, keeping his imagination well under control, he can continue like any other expert, just carefully obeying the regulations of timing and direction.

> Were he able to visualize in his mind the shattering destruction produced on his target, the crumbling ruins in which men, women, and children are entombed, crushed, burnt, and poisoned, he might hesitate.

But no, he is schooled to be callous, otherwise he would not be efficient. Whatever may be said of the job today, by no stretch of language can it be called glorious.

YET what pains we take to preserve human life!

There are wards in hospitals filled with deformed abortions, hardly human; there are patients lingering in the last throes of malignant and incurable cancer, there are aged folk going down hill with senile dementia: there are life-long lunatics and homicidal maniacs.

On all these we spend money, care, and the constant ministration of scores of doctors and hundreds of nurses. While at the same time factories are buzzing to turn out weapons for the wholesale destruction primarily of healthy youth and indiscriminately of all people who can be reached.

Yet it appears not to strike many people as unnatural. It is all generally accepted. It is unseen. The ugliness is tucked away, the cruelty is called by some other name, the imbecility is not noticed.

The reverse of the medal must never be turned to view. Cenotaphs, flags, bands, glittering uniforms and eloquent speeches, sermons and hymns by nauseous sentimentality screen the reality and stifle the cries of poor suffering humanity.

THIS sounds rather gloomy and pessimistic. It reminds me of a debate held at the Cambridge Union some days ago in which Lord Samuel and I took part.

He advanced the proposition that meliorism was preferable to either optimism or pessimism. Meliorism turned out to be Liberalism. I took the side of the pessimist. I argued that knowledge and a profound abhorrence of the evil that existed was a great incentive to action.

> Moreover, I contended that the pessimist was really happier than the optimist because when he was proved to be wrong he was delighted, whereas the optimist, when he was proved just as often to be wrong, was dismayed.

I would not have anything to do with meliorism—the half-way house, the half loaf, the palliative.

I think, however, that Lord Samuel, with his skilful powers of philosophic exposition, would have won the day had he not made a tactical mistake. In order to draw me he denounced pacifism. Nothing could have pleased me more, knowing my audience of young men.

We had the usual "unpractical dreamer" arguments, the need for defence against madmen, and "in the present state of the world, &c." So, after a little chaff about meliorism and a rejection of the tiresome optimism which pretends that everything is for the best in the best possible of all worlds, I took up his challenge.

I LET fly, denouncing all half-way houses on the question of war, described what war meant, and rejected out of hand the idea of improving it and making it more gentlemanlike.

In fact I made a P.P.U. speech with all the stops out. Sure enough I carried the day and got my majority.

All the "isms" went to the winds. The debate had become pacifism versus all other expedients for attempting to settle international differences.

In spite of my pessimism, I must admit I am optimistic about the youth of today.

Wherever I go, I am struck by the ardour of the young men I come across. They have re-examined the whole case. They are refusing to take ready-made the ideas of the older generation. They are insisting on thinking the matter out for themselves.

If they can manage, in their day, to turn up the new road, however arduous it may seem, they may save the mid-twentieth century from going down to history as the age in which people with unparalleled facts and examples before them refused to bestir themselves in order to reject wholesale the time-worn road to destruction and desolation.

Successful Canadian Tour With Pacifist Message

From a Special Correspondent

A ONE-WEEK tour of five Ontario and Quebec cities by Percy W. Bartlett, Secretary of Embassies of Reconciliation, and John Nevin Sayre, Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, has been highly successful.

Both are Christian pacifists and presented that position as a positive programme for the individual and for the State.

Their success is significant, for organized pacifism is all but dead throughout Canada. To be sure there are individuals, but they are scattered, confused, unrelated in their pacifist message.

In each city Percy Bartlett and Nevin Sayre met students, parsons, business men, and the general public.

In Toronto Mr. Sayre, who is an ordained Anglican, preached in Holy Trinity (whose rector is the son-in-law of the Rev. Pat McCormick, of BBC fame) and in the Church of the Redeemer (whose rector is editor of the *Canadian Churchman*), while Mr. Bartlett spoke to nearly 1,000 people in an East End United Church and to a large audience of the influential Sherbourne Church.

WHERE EMPIRE MEANS "VILE POVERTY"

From Our Special Correspondent

DAVID SPRECKLEY

HONG KONG, October 16.

IT is impossible to make any real headway in such a place as this—in the same way that any efforts at social service, amidst this vile poverty, are almost useless.

The roots of the disease are in the minds of men back in England—imperialism and capitalism combine to maintain the "cheap labour" of natives as a natural and justifiable state of affairs.

So long as it is considered as such, these humans throughout "our glorious Empire" are condemned to live under conditions that would not be allowed for animals at home.

I've been almost sick at what I've seen in these slums — thirty people living in rooms twenty feet by forty-five feet; a family earning ten shillings a month and being forced by landlords to pay seven shillings of that for rent for a tiny cubicle; having only one meal a day at 1½d. per head.

And yet these people are much happier than those in the East End—ignorance is bliss. Should we educate them or shouldn't we?

IRELAND

Pacifists to "Educate" President!

From Our Own Correspondent

A resolution calling upon President de Valera and the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland to inaugurate a policy of non-violence in Ireland was passed at the first annual meeting of the All-Ireland Anti-War Crusade in Dublin.

Upon this basis the Crusade hopes to arrange its winter programme.

Although little increase in numbers can be reported the second season of the crusade opens with a strong enthusiasm and determination to get the message of spiritual force over to Irishmen. The aim of the Dublin group is to "educate for pacifism," and by this resolution they are making a start on the President!

The crusade is commencing a scheme for the sale of PEACE NEWS. Members are asked to purchase twelve copies and sell these either in the street, to their friends, or office staffs. The scheme appears workable and popular.

Public meetings are being held on the first and third Tuesdays at Hatch Street Hall (rear of 58a Harcourt Street) Dublin.

Franco-German Youth Camps

The success of holiday camps held for German and French youths is referred to by the French Premier, M. Chautemps, in an article in *Wille und Macht*, the monthly journal of the Hitler Youth.

The French Ambassador in Berlin also writes, quoting Hitler's words regarding the French and Germans: "They have many more grounds for respecting and admiring than for hating each other."

The leader of the Hitler Youth, Herr Baldur von Schirach, writes: "May the old enmity between our two countries perish for good in the camp fires of our beloved youth. What we can do to that end will be done."

Socialists Silent on Soviet Persecution

A resolution against fascism that "tortures women in prisons and concentration camps" was passed at a conference of socialist women held in Paris. "But it found no word of solidarity or protest for the socialist women who are continually being persecuted by Stalinism," comments Victor Serge in *La Révolution Prolétarienne*, and he gives proof of that persecution.

"How can we understand this silence of the socialist women?" he asks. **Do they approve of what is happening in Russia?**

"The Western European socialists, who every day are a little more ready to allow themselves to be dictated to by the murderers of the Russian labouring classes, are on the way to a most distressing political suicide."

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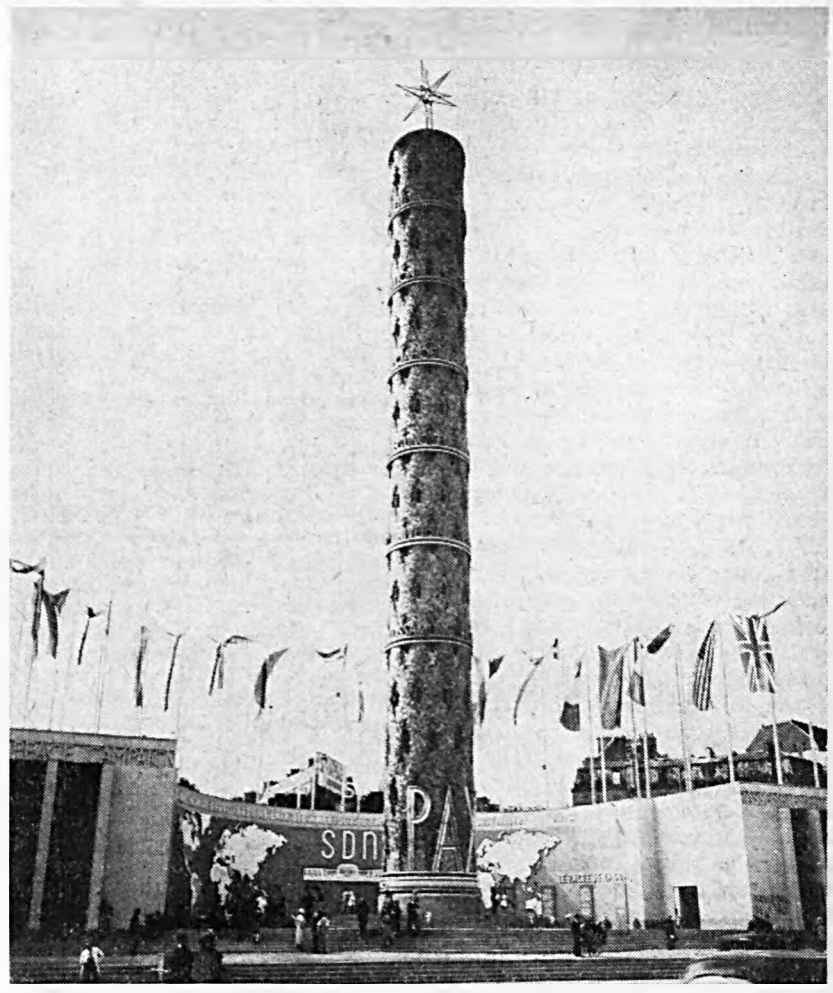

Photo., H. Baranger

The success of the Paris Exhibition has led the French Government to decide on reopening it next year.

Here is the Peace Pavilion and the Tower of Peace, which has attracted visitors from all parts of the world.

IF YOU WERE A GERMAN PACIFIST—

WHAT would **you** do in the difficult situation that is bound to arise when you are called up for military service?

The question is put to PEACE NEWS readers by the War Resisters' International, which has received a letter from a German pacifist emigrant, who writes:—

When I am called up in Germany for military training should I give my notice of refusal from here, or should I go back to Germany to bear the consequences of my refusal?

There is another problem which worries me still more. A younger brother of mine, who still lives in Germany, expects to be called up next year. His standpoint is exactly the same as mine. Before military service one has to do "labour service" for one year. Is one to accept this service?

Although, since the introduction of compulsory military service, the "labour service" has largely lost its military character, there seems to be an opinion among my friends, including my brother, that the intention of refusal should be already declared in regard to the "labour service," lest the *psychological moment* for refusal should be missed.

This seems to be known to the authorities, and the whole method seems to be calculated to confuse the issue, so that a man, thinking he was consenting only to some form of legitimate service, might be led unwittingly to real military training. I have heard of several cases. When I saw my brother last he said that although he was certain of his own convictions he was afraid they would find some sort of a "trap" to catch him.

The following is also a burning question: Can one in the prevailing abnormal circumstances in Germany with a good conscience advise a man to refuse military service, or should one advise him to emigrate?

In addition to the special conditions in Germany which, points out the letter, "place a war resister in a tremendously difficult situation," there are "the incalculable consequences, and the fact that even among one's own relations the fate of war resisters is not known."

So how would you advise this German pacifist?

STARVATION IN SPAIN

THE urgent need for food supplies is stressed in recent reports from relief workers in Spain. Nearly all refer to the desperate milk shortage.

The War Resisters' International has received gifts for its Spanish relief fund from friends all over the world—including those in Canada, U.S.A., Mexico, South American States, South Africa, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, China, and many European countries.

A recent post brought a much appreciated contribution from Manchuria!

Those in England are asked not to forget this work at a time of such great need. Gifts should be sent to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, marked "Spanish Relief Fund."

Headquarters' Notes

By MAX PLOWMAN

The great gathering of the clans at the Albert Hall, London, on the evening of Saturday, December 4, is going to serve a dual purpose. First and foremost, we shall re-dedicate ourselves to the work of our beloved leader: then we shall make use of the occasion to inaugurate the proposed **Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund.** Thus the meeting will form a fitting culmination to the Self-denial week we have all been engaged in, and will at the same time afford to everyone who is longing for some tangible way of expressing his gratitude for Dick Sheppard's life an occasion for so doing. The programme of the meeting will, I hope, be chiefly musical and commemorative; but an appeal for this Memorial Fund will be made from the platform, and I do not think anyone will be present who will not be glad to give some token of personal love as an offering to the memory of Dick himself and a gift to the work in which his whole heart lay. What form the Memorial will take must, of course, depend upon the size of the Fund subscribed; but personally I dearly hope we shall be able to realize at last the Pacifist Club and Hostel in London which Dick ardently desired—one with a shop front, to face the world with, full of pacifist literature.

Contributions to the Self-denial Week have been coming in ever since the first copies of Dick's last letter found their way through the post. If anyone has sent money and not received a receipt, will he please let us know. And if anyone who reads this has not received the letter itself and would like it, will he please apply for a copy. November 20 was the date upon which we were all asked to post our envelopes, so the delivery on Monday next is going to be one which I hope and expect will try the resources of the G.P.O.

By the way, the first-fruits of this self-denial week will, I hope, be a reprint of Dick Sheppard's "Candid Letter to the Men Who Matter," which appeared in these columns last week. I want to get this perfect statement of the pacifist case—as it appears to me—distributed by the hundred thousand, and therefore propose to offer copies in bulk at less than cost price so that the leaflet may be distributed from house to house right throughout the length of the land. Here is a work in which group leaders will, I know, be glad to cooperate. We can, I believe, easily double the membership of the P.P.U. through this leaflet alone. It is Dick's message to everyman, and for clarity and precision of statement, for persuasiveness and incontrovertability, it is quite unsurpassable. Every leaflet that finds a reader ought to make a convert.

Christmas is coming! Your festival, I think. Mine, I hope. Ours, I'm sure! It will be good to celebrate peace and good will with pacifists this year. In the way of Christmas presents, may I recommend *Let us Honour Peace* as a book for every relative under 70 who is not already a pacifist (Those who are pacifists — wise ones — will have bought their own copies.) And the Christmas card Eric Gill has so generously designed specially for the P.P.U. will be welcomed and cherished by every friend who knows a lovely thing when he sees it. There's another one too, a gay thing with babes of all nations ringing the Christmas bells, which you must have. And we've special P.P.U. diaries this year. There's beginning to be a gay show on the sixth floor at 96 Regent Street. Come up and see it!

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

England is being covered by a network of groups: steadily and surely the Peace Pledge Union is penetrating the countryside, revitalizing and bringing hope to small bodies of people who were losing faith in their power to stand by their pacifist principles. It is no longer rare to hear the expression "War is not inevitable." The other day I was in a village 50 miles from London, where I was told that the Peace Pledge Union had altered the whole outlook of a number of people who had for years been trying to stir enough enthusiasm to be able to call a meeting to protest against the growing danger of an armaments race, but had never succeeded. It is now possible for them to write to 96 Regent Street for literature, posters, and national speakers, and to have the inspiration which comes from such contact to give a new impetus to their local work. Organization alone is not the secret. It is the new faith in the possibility of an alternative method as expressed by these speakers, backed up by the knowledge that all over the country similar changes are taking place.

The Albert Hall meeting on December 4 will be the means of rousing a new sense of personal responsibility and unity—the money which we shall raise can be used to build new centres from which will come the energy needed to put our ideals into practice. A fearless and enthusiastic lead is demanded of us. With Dick Sheppard to know was to act, and it must be the same with us.

In preparation for what is to come, I want to ask all groups to carry out a survey of their districts. To collect the names and addresses of secretaries of all organizations to whom speakers can be sent should be the first piece of work. Divide your group into units to carry out such activities as approaching ministers of religion, school teachers, cinema managers, tradesmen willing to show bills, persons with corner houses with blank walls which can be used for advertising, owners of empty shops which can be rented as peace book shops, managers of halls where meetings can be held for showing our films, people to sell PEACE NEWS weekly, and, where it has not been done, a personal visit to every signatory to share with each one the new spirit which is manifest everywhere.

Letters that have reached me in the last two weeks have all revealed the intense desire to share the burden that has been left to us to bear since the death of Dick Sheppard. By such methods as I have just suggested, carried out with eagerness and determination, and followed up as every opportunity offers, we can turn the general **desire** for peace into a practical **demand** for peace.

* * *

With the best will in the world, it is physically impossible for me to visit every group as I should wish to do. Let me know in what way these ideas can be expanded in order to leave no work undone which it is in our power to do.

ITALY

"Manufactured" Bitterness

"The ostensible bitterness between Italy and England probably floats above the head of the Italian man-in-the-street."

This is the conclusion of a correspondent who recently visited Messina and Naples. Writing in the *North End Brotherhood Magazine* (Croydon), he adds that the Italian man-in-the-street seems to have goodwill toward the average Englishman. The two, as individuals, certainly would never murder one another.

Busy as the devil is, they have never had the smallest personal quarrel. But when their governors fall out, the said governors do not start shooting one another. They have the cunning to make these two blockheads, in crowds of thousands, try to kill each other!

The Notice Board

Will **W. Murphy,** who failed to state his address and who is unemployed and on the Means Test, kindly send his address to F. B. Middleton at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

P.P.U. Whist Drive, Wednesday, December 1, 8 p.m. at **Selhurst** Congregational Church Hall. Details and tickets from Sydney Larcombe, 59 Auckland Road, S.E.19.

Streatham group dance, Prentis Hall, Prentis Road, Streatham, from 7.30 p.m. to 12, November 27. Admission 2s., dress optional. Secretary, Mrs. Briar, 100 Pretoria Road, S.W.16.

Mr. A. Stephen Noel, 30 years teacher and public speaker, will visit groups (London area for a beginning) to suggest lines of **preparation for public speaking** and assist with difficulties. Write 42 Woodcote Road, Wanstead, E.11. (Phone, Wanstead 3655).

Members who know what any great founder of any religion has said on **Brotherhood** please send their words on this or like subjects to Marygold C. Crowe, 57 High Street, Crawley, Sussex, whose idea it is to compile a book.

Conditions for **headquarters' library: 1.** Charge of 1d. per week. **2.** Charge of ½d. a day for books kept longer than two weeks. **3.** No book may be kept longer than one month. **4.** Postage must be paid by borrower. **5.** Not more than three books may be in possession of a borrower at one time. **6.** No borrower may pass on his book to another person. List obtainable from librarian, P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, W.1.

New badge now ready. Apply 96 Regent Street, W.1.

"PACIFISM IS GROWING"

"YOU will be interested to know that our peace meeting on November 8 was a great success, about 1,700 people being present. Eleven dozen copies of PEACE NEWS went like smoke at this meeting."

These words from a **Nottingham** correspondent, referring to a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby and the Rev. Henry Carter, are typical of those used to describe all large P.P.U. meetings nowadays.

More Pacifist Councillors

SINCE publishing last week the names of P.P.U. members who were successful in the municipal elections, we have been notified of the election of three members (Mrs. Hickman, Max Lock, and A. R. Palmer) to Watford Borough Council and of Mrs. M. Whitmore at **Ipswich.**

As Laurence Housman said at a recent meeting organized by the **Prestwich and Whitefield** group,

> Dick Sheppard was and is still the best friend pacifism ever had. His spirit lives on with us.
>
> Due to his influence and that of his great friend and helper, George Lansbury, **pacifism is growing and today is recruiting far more rapidly than the Army.**

Besides public meetings, groups are organizing film shows.

At **Harrogate,** where *Kameradschaft* was shown to some 400 people recently, our correspondent reports "there were many requests for further information about the movement. This has awakened considerable interest in the town."

UNDER THE OAK TREE

By BELLA HOOPER

(On behalf of the Basque Fund.)

SOME of the children of Basque House gave an entertainment one evening in Colchester, organized by the Colchester United Youth. This consisted of songs from the Basque country, Galicia, León, &c., and various dances and sketches. During the interval, a doll, dressed in similar costume to that worn by our star dancer in one of her numbers, was raffled, with very satisfactory results. The doll's clothes—a scarlet frilled satin dress, black lace mantilla, and elegant underwear—were made by one of our Spanish teachers, assisted by some of the girls. The children who took part were given coffee and biscuits after the show, and both audience and performers passed a very enjoyable evening.

Two football matches have been played on our own ground, one against Colchester Boys' Brigade, which resulted in a draw, one goal being scored by each team, and the other against the Colchester Royal Grammar School, which we lost 3—1. Both matches were much enjoyed, and our defeat in the second one was largely due to the excellent goal-keeper of the other team, who seemed to be absolutely infallible.

Some Grammar School boys stayed after the match and spent the evening at Basque House. We are always very pleased of any opportunity for our children to mix with English ones, and some of the Grammar School boys visit us frequently and are warmly welcomed by their Spanish friends.

Some of the boys are learning shoe-mending as a winter-time occupation, and are making good progress. One boy in particular always stays after the official time of the class is over and is a most promising pupil.

The girls have begun early morning gym classes in an enthusiastic "keep fit" campaign. Many of them borrow their brothers' clothes for this, and they all enjoy it very much. Moreover it exempts them from the daily walk, which is a much less exciting pastime.

It is with the very deepest regret that we have to report the return to Spain of two of our girls. It makes us extremely sad to think that any of the children have to go back to a country still at war, but these two have been claimed by both parents, so that we are powerless to prevent their return. We most earnestly hope that none of the others will be taken from us until Spain is once more at peace.

We are grateful to the kind friends who have sent anonymous but very useful parcels during the past weeks. We should like to give special thanks to our Wigan well-wishers who sent six hand-knitted vests. These were immediately distributed and will keep six little bodies beautifully warm during the cold weather.

One rather sad thing has happened. Someone sent Ernesto Cruchaga a birthday present, the label of which became detached and was sent to us, with the information that the article to which it was originally attached had not been identified. The Warden of Basque House would be grateful if any information about this could be sent to her.

Was It Really a "War to End War"?

REACTION AGAINST MILITARISM AT ARMISTICE CEREMONIES

DESPITE the incongruity of most of the official celebrations of Armistice Day when taken in conjunction with the preparation of the country for war, it was clear that to many people the words "Never again" remain something more than just a pious hope.

Pointing out that another war would make a mockery of the solemn remembrance of the dead, a Canadian ex-soldier wrote in the *Manchester Guardian* that "the whole concept of the battlefield cemeteries and memorials is based upon this fact"—"that the boys who are buried beneath them died in a war to end war." Canon Peter Green, at a Salford service, asked whether we were being true to those boys.

In London many people took the opportunity of attending in Regent's Park the ceremony of remembrance "for those who wish to keep faith with those who died" and "to honour the principles for which they suffered"—a ceremony entirely free from any form of militarism.

The attendance at this, the first ceremony of its kind held in Central London, revealed the existence of a desire on the part of many to remember the dead without turning the occasion into an opportunity for a military display.

LANDSLIDE TO PACIFISM?

The present international situation and the loss of Dr. Sheppard gave added meaning to the meetings on "Christ and Peace," held in the evening by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups in the Central Hall, Westminster, and Kingsway Hall, attended by some 5,000 people.

A warning to pacifists to consider their spiritual resources was uttered by the Rev. Donald Soper, who said he would not be surprised to see a pacifist "landslide" in the next few months.

"It is idle for us to speculate as to what is going to happen when this pacifism becomes not only a menace to people like Duff Cooper, but a menace to this thing we are pleased to call civilization," said Dr. Soper.

Although we could not envisage the circumstances which would arise, we could be pretty sure that there would be "something like chaos" for a time.

He said he believed the only sure foundation was in "the faith that God is our father."

The two meetings were also greatly interested in the addresses of Dr. Wilhelm Solzbacher, a German Catholic, and Pasteur Henri Roser, a French Protestant.

"There is no nation in the world that wants war," said the former, who gave a clear analysis of the European situation.

Henri Roser told of an anarchist who, despite imprisonment in France for refusing military service, had eventually taken up arms in Spain to "defend" his ideals — an example, movingly told, of a vicious circle which pacifism seeks to break.

The speech of George Lansbury, who received a great ovation, may perhaps best be summed up in his words:

It is impossible for Europe to maintain itself without either war, revolution, or peaceful change through cooperation between all peoples. . . . What is obvious is that we must either make war or peace with the dictators.

If we are satisfied that war means universal ruin, and every statesman says it does, then we must make serious efforts toward peace, however difficult we may find the task at times. We must be prepared to sacrifice something for peace or, to put it more truthfully, be willing to share with each other.

Other Armistice activity included:

A similar successful meeting at High Wycombe addressed by Eric Gill, Eric Hayman, and the Rev. A. A. McNaughten.

Placing of a cross by P.P.U. members in memory of Dick Sheppard in the Field of Remembrance, Westminster—in the section reserved to the memory of "those who died in the hope of peace on earth."

A crowded public meeting in Scarborough, addressed by Wilfred Wellock, organized by the Peace Pledge Union and Society of Friends.

Two peace processions through the centre of Manchester, organized by the Women's Cooperative Guild, and Manchester and District Youth Peace Council.

A procession through Camden Town and Kentish Town by cooperative guildswomen of North-West London.

An address (on Armistice eve) on peace and remembrance at the New Church, Kidderminster, arranged by a P.P.U. member.

A "solemn act of memorial" for Dick Sheppard, which was a feature of the united service in Leicester organized by the local Pacifist Fellowship.

Ideas for Christmas

THE Christmas card reproduced above, showing a rather poverty stricken Mother and Child, has been specially designed for the Peace Pledge Union by Eric Gill.

The price of this card and of another, designed by Arthur Wragg, is 4d. each, while two other cards, designed by C. R. Howe and Muriel Harris, are obtainable from the P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, for 2d. each.

DIARY

You are sure to want a 1938 diary—at least for yourself if not to send to a friend. Why not get that, too, from headquarters?

For 1s. 6d. you will be able to get a Collins' diary with pencil (usual price 1s. 9d.).

The lettering "P.P.U. Diary" appears in gold on an olive-green cover. There are two days to each page—so you will have ample room to make a note of all your group's activities next year! In addition to the customary information the diary gives two pages of quotations from pacifist writers (mainly P.P.U. Sponsors).

BOOKS

For your "yes-but" friends a book dealing with pacifism might be helpful. What about giving them one of the following as a Christmas present? They are all obtainable from P.P.U. headquarters.

The Power of Non-Violence. Richard B. Gregg. 5s.

The Necessity of Pacifism. J. Middleton Murry. 3s. 6d.

We Say No! H. R. L. Sheppard. 3s. 6d.

The Faith Called Pacifism. Max Plowman. 3s. 6d.

Which Way to Peace? Bertrand Russell. 2s. 6d.

The New Pacifism (essays by Gerald Heard, H. R. L. Sheppard, &c.). 2s. 6d.

The "yes-but" **and** pacifist friends would welcome the Christmas number of PEACE NEWS as a carrier of the message of peace. Or, if you are already sending one of the P.P.U. cards with your Christmas greeting, why not follow it up by making a present of a subscription (for a quarter or longer) to PEACE NEWS? In either case we would supply a suitable greeting slip to accompany it.

The form is below; all you have to do is to fill it in and post it to us with the money.

To the Publishers of PEACE NEWS
59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Please send PEACE NEWS to

.....at

.....

for * three months, six months, one year, with a Christmas

greeting from.....

.....

for which I enclose * 2s. 9d., 5s. 6d., 10s. 6d.

* **Strike out** those which do **not** apply.

A Christmas Present for Pacifists

THE GOSPEL OF PEACE OF JESUS CHRIST by the disciple JOHN

An ancient text translated for the first time by Edmond Szekely and Purcell Weaver

Obtainable from the

Bureau of Cosmotherapy

Lawrence Weaver House, Leatherhead Surrey

Price 3/6 (Postage 4d.)

45 PERCENT AGAINST "REARMAMENT"

Spiritualist Newspaper's Census

From Our Own Correspondent

THE adoption of a resolution supporting the Government's "rearmament" programme by a recent conference of the Spiritualist National Union resulted in the resignation of many members from that body.

Further, it led the weekly *Psychic News* (which has a circulation of about 100,000) to ask its readers whether they were against "rearmament" and in favour of social reconstruction and economic appeasement.

Of the readers who replied, 45 percent were opposed to the Government's policy.

(*Spiritualist members of the Peace Pledge Union and other pacifist bodies are invited to communicate with Ralph Woolfstein, 217 Richmond Road, London, E.8, with a view to the co-ordination of their work for peace. They are asked to state the name of the spiritualist society [if any] to which they belong.*)

Press Campaign Preceded the War

The ten-year press campaign against Germany which gradually taught the nation that war was inevitable was referred to by Hamilton Fyfe in an address on "The Press and Propaganda" (one of a series of seven weekly lectures) in the Tavistock Clinic, London.

He defined propaganda as "the effort to make people believe something by 'flummoxing' their minds — winning them over by unfair means," and said that under its influence "the Allies made an 'angry' peace."

"If our politicians had had a free hand," he continued, "they were capable of making a sane peace under the leadership of Wilson, but they allowed themselves to be constrained by the deliberate campaign of hate run by the press."

There were other and most insidious means of propaganda besides newspapers, such as the recruiting poster, tattoos, and navy weeks.

FIRST NIGHTS *of new London shows*

By HERBERT FARJEON

GHOSTS. *Vaudeville.*

ALTHOUGH the pathology of this masterpiece may be shaky, the psychology and dramatic construction are superb. And when the part of Mrs. Alving is acted as courageously and as sensitively as it is now being acted by Marie Ney, what playgoer can fail to be elated?

This is, in fact, the best revival of *Ghosts* since the censor decided that it was not, after all, calculated to impair the moral fabric of the nation. Engstrand talking cockney and using such modernisms as "one over the eight" needs a little more reforming than usual. But Silvia Coleridge as Regina is particularly good, Molly McArthur's settings are entirely suitable, and every moment engrosses.

How many members of the audience will be tempted by the advertisement on the programme exhorting them, after this show, to go and dance to Romano's Dance Band, must remain conjectural.

Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:
59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: **Enterprise 1888**

Subscription Rates:

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

November 20, 1937

PACIFIST POLICY

WE have reached a psychological moment for pacifism in this country: now is the time for a great stride forward. Canon Sheppard's death only conspires to make the sense of immediacy more intense; for through his death his work for peace is brought into focus, and millions who have hitherto thought of it as "idealistic" now see in him the image of their own real desire and are feeling out for the way in which they can identify themselves with his purpose. Here was a man who obviously gave all he had and was for the attainment of peace. The question arises in each one of us: Is that complete self-dedication necessary; or can we not achieve the peace of nations through the ordinary political means? Instead of this personal devotion—impressive as it is—can we not attain the peace of men and nations by the ordinary means of deputized political action? Dick Sheppard died for peace. Is that symbolic or just accidental? Was Dick Sheppard's own peace pledge merely his effort to save his own soul; or was it a symbolic act of personal sacrifice on behalf of all men, which to deny is to deny peace its very life-blood?

Those who think sympathetically of the man, but have hitherto refrained from supporting his work, will be asking themselves these questions, particularly those who have always approached the problem of peace from the political standpoint. To them the pledge has appeared as a simplification too absolute to be valid. They have failed to realize its significance and its implications. Their concern has been with society first and with the individual only as a component part; so they approach from without what Dick Sheppard approached from within. Now they are confronted by the awe-inspiring, momentous question whether the eradication of war from society can be made by any means less drastic than Dick Sheppard believed to be necessary. Can we solve the basic problem by means of political machinery without personal self-commitment; or must we first pierce our own hearts and remove from them the ultimate willingness to war?

The pledge is the complete expression of personal intention and as such possesses an immediate dynamic; for its working effect is what everyone desires—the total abstention from war. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union is consequent upon and not antecedent to the pledge: its policy begins with the act of self-determination. Political policy will not lead to the pledge, but the pledge will lead to political policy; and that policy can be stated in the one word, conciliation. All that makes for the conciliation of contending parties, the pacifist supports: all that makes for the embitterment and violent disruption of the social organism, the pacifist rejects. What the pacifist is ready and anxious to remove from the social body is the gangrenous tissue which would corrupt it into death by war. To achieve the essential renewal of society he endeavours to permeate it with the idea that peace can become an abiding condition directly we are willing to put peace first and self-interest second; and in this it may be noted that he completely reverses the order which Mr. Neville Chamberlain recently gave to these hopes. Wherever efforts toward conciliation are being made, there a pacifist policy is capable of practical expression; but there and there only, for pacifism is by its very nature incapable of being either Left or Right. It has one object: the attainment of peace through the liberation of mankind from the tyrannies which the pursuit of exclusive self-interest are continually creating. As Dick Sheppard himself put it: "You cannot grow figs on thistles": you cannot get rid of war and make provision for it at the same time.

To Bomb or Not to Bomb?—That is Not the Question

By J. WILLIAMS HUGHES (of the Ambulance Unit in Spain, March to July, 1937)

THE air raid "precautions" published by the Government and distributed to the British public are cruel in that they are liable to give a false sense of security to the unthinking members of the community. One cannot learn to swim without getting into the water, nor can one realize the full horror of a modern air raid and the futility of bomb-proof refuges until one has actually experienced this most devilish form of destruction. What I had read and heard about the Great War had convinced me that war was horrible, but what I saw in Spain was ten times worse than anything I had imagined war could be. I went out to Spain from humanitarian motives and I am glad of the experience; my regret is that I cannot portray war in all its hideousness to those young people who have no actual experience of it.

In air raid practices, such as are held all over Europe, we read that the people take refuge quickly and in an orderly fashion. This news may appear quite convincing in the newspapers, but I have experienced actual air raids in Spain, and I can assure you that they differ completely from these practice affairs because in an actual raid fear becomes the controlling factor. It is not a matter of suffering temporary inconvenience; your own home is in danger; your own life and the lives of your family and friends are in danger. It is this fear that accounts for the fact that air raid shelters are mostly empty during an actual raid.

I experienced my first air raid on the evening before Whit Sunday this year and to my alarm I found that the people of Valencia were not doing any of the things we had been told to do in the event of an air raid at home. Instead of going into bomb-proof shelters the people off the streets were rushing into the shops and cafés. There had been no warning of the raid, and before calmness could be restored in the café I was in, the planes were on their way back, their dastardly work completed. Half an hour before, Valencia was comparatively happy, the people thronged the streets, and sat under the trees on the boulevards. Now grief and horror had spread all through the city. Houses which a short time previously had been happy homes were now in ruins and the streets were covered with glass and debris.

All our "precautions" in this country are based on the assumption that we shall receive ample warning of the approach of the raiders. It has been proved in Spain and in China that the warning is usually a bomb. Modern aircraft fly so high as to be almost invisible to the naked eye, and the noise of a modern city drowns the roar of the engines. I have seen them swoop down from a clear Spanish sky, spread death and desolation, and soar upward again well out of reach of any anti-aircraft guns, before any protective measures could be taken. The most that anti-aircraft guns can do is to prevent the planes coming low enough to aim at specific objects and to machine-gun the crowds below.

It is incorrect to say that schools and hospitals are being deliberately bombed—during an air raid everything in the town stands an equal chance of being hit. There is no international law or code of honour which can save special buildings. The raiders set out to destroy as much as possible in a short time. To get back safely to their base is naturally the chief concern of the airmen and they are not going to risk their lives by descending low enough to be within range of the guns. All air raids I have experienced have been of short duration, but a great deal of damage can be done in four or five minutes. For the first two minutes you are petrified with fear; this leaves you two or three minutes to reach the shelter, which may be half a mile away.

The air raid "precautions" also seem to forget that most raids occur at night time and that the towns and cities are immediately plunged into darkness. That is why people do not leave the comparative security of their homes for the terror of a street full of rushing humanity and speeding cars driving without lights. In your own home you will only suffer in the event of a direct hit, on the street you are open to the peril of flying steel and masonry. There is no more terrifying experience than to be isolated from one's friends during an air attack. One instinctively gropes in the dark for a hand to grip, and it is natural in times of danger for families to cling together. Families do not leave home because they know that husbands and wives, parents and children would become separated in the mad rush outside. If you are going to make use of air raid shelters you must live right above them.

Let us forget theory and consider what is actually happening. I have seen the raiders coming through the most efficient defences. It does not matter what proportion fails to get through; the fact that one bomber reaches its

(*Continued on page 7, column 2*)

PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

"Unless—"

"I'LL tell you this. Conscription or no conscription, I shall never drop another bomb."

Pretty strong? But it's the vow of the editor of *Popular Flying!* Better still? He'd just seen an uncensored film of the bombing of Shanghai, which moved him to write:

War isn't war any longer. It is just wholesale carnage, the turning of a town into a vast slaughter house. It is a pity the Japanese bomber pilots cannot be shown what they did, but that, I fancy, is the last thing the Japanese Government would permit. Nor, for that matter, would our Government allow our bomber pilots to see it.

Ah! So he will "never drop another bomb—*unless it be on the Japanese war-lords' headquarters.*" Oh! (Those were our italics, by the way.)

What is the use of showing what war means if that is the result? For our Government, when the time comes, has only to persuade those who feel that way that our particular enemy is as bad as Japan has been and the trick is done. "Trick's" the word, too! For we know how governments can persuade in war time.

In other words, unless you renounce ALL war you are in for ANY war for which you are wanted.

Fitness

THE Government's "fitness" campaign is comparatively cheap to run. It is estimated to cost £2,000,000.

But arms?

In 1932-3 we spent on armaments £103.3 million, which was equivalent to 30% of the civil expenditure.

In 1936-7 the figures were £187.8 million or 50% of the civil expenditure, and

In 1937-8 the figures will be £269.7 million (including £80 millions raised by loans) or 66% of the civil expenditure.

In other words, in 1937-1938 we are spending £762,000 a day—or 4d. per day per head of the entire population.

Taking Notice

PACIFISM cannot be ignored. If the Government does not yet take much official notice, and the national press still less, it can only be because the local press has not yet fully prepared the way for it. But it is doing its best.

No local paper could have ignored Blackburn Joint Pacifist Council's great peace week or, in particular, the debate it arranged between Mr. George E. Rush (Conservative agent) and Dr. E. G. Braham, as a result of which the "contention" that war is never justifiable "was carried by an overwhelming majority." But the local papers were obliged to do more than just notice this work. They published many and long reports and the *Northern Daily Telegraph* even had a long leading article asking "Is defence justifiable?" This rightly declared that "war-making can triumph only where the defence is inadequate." But while thus recognizing that war is only made where force can be pitted against less-force, it failed to see that this means that it cannot be made against no-force.

Amazed

ANOTHER local pacifist effort that received notice in the local press was a meeting which the Peace Pledge Union held in Norwich last Friday.

Perhaps the editor of the *Eastern Evening News* felt it was at least part of the explanation for the lack of enthusiasm on the part of some to prepare for war. For he put it almost next to a report of a lantern lecture on "the lesson of 1914-19" at which Lt.-Col. Graham Seton Hutchison said:

It must be plain to anybody that the British Empire offers the largest slice of unprotected loot that has ever been offered in the history of the world.

I am amazed that the young men do not run forward to join the Territorial Force, because first of all the nation only wants the cream of the population to defend it. One would expect the cream to be hammering on the gates of the recruiting offices, especially when we have three wars going on, in one of which—Palestine—we are engaged ourselves.

Warning

THIS warning was given by the South-West Staffordshire coroner (Mr. J. T. Higgs) at an inquest on a man who "died from congestive heart failure, due to chronic bronchitis, contracted during military service in the Great War":—

Cases of this kind should be one of the greatest factors in causing public opinion to spread itself to the utmost to maintain peace, for when we see the advance that science has made in destruction in the last 20 years, we must realize that next time it will not only be soldiers but civilians in their thousands who will be subjected to the same kind of suffering.

The Impact of Imperialism

THE ASSYRIANS

By Captain Philip Mumford

ALL those who read Lord Hugh Cecil's magnificent letter upon the Assyrian question in *The Times* of October 18 must have been impressed with the moral dignity of the sentiments in which he expressed his distress at our betrayal of the Assyrians. As he himself expressed it, "Christianity is a far feebler motive than nationalism." One is reminded of Samuel Butler's Musical Banks in *Erewhon!*

The Assyrian has been . . .

We need not look to the odd corners of the earth for evidences of the tragedy and failure of the Great War nor for proof of the callous brutality of imperialism; and yet I feel that the tragedy of the Assyrians—martyrs of our boasted military glory and its traditions—is an example that we, in this country, should not be allowed to forget because it is one in which our national honour is so terribly involved.

The Assyrians—believed by authorities to be the descendants of the ancient Assyrians of the Bible—were, at the outbreak of the Great War, a small community of hardy mountaineers living in the Hakkiari Mountains of Turkey. They numbered, at most, some hundred thousand people, and had retained intact their ancient form of Christianity known as the Nestorian Church. Their language—Syriac—is a derivation of the Aramaic spoken in Palestine in Biblical times, in which language they still hold their religious services. Warlike and arrogant, yet simple and hospitable, uneducated but quickwitted, they have since proved themselves capable of great loyalties. Unfortunately, those loyalties, given to British imperialism, have resulted in their suffering and betrayal—the independent highlander is today a demoralized refugee in danger of violent extermination.

. . . sacrificed to our imperialism.

The British connexion with these people dates from 1886 when the Archbishop of Canterbury sent them a special mission, which continued to work among them till the outbreak of the Great War, and must be held partly responsible for their quixotic action in throwing in their lot with the Allies.

Led by their paramount chief and hereditary archbishop, the Mar Shimun (succession goes from uncle to nephew, as the archbishop must be celibate) their small community declared war upon the Turks on May 16, 1915, thus joining the Allies in their fight (among other things) for justice to small nations. They were relying at first upon Russian promises of assistance and had been encouraged by the appearance of a Russian Army at Urmia in Persia. (Please don't ask what an Allied army was doing trespassing in poor little Persia while our cause was defending gallant little Belgium and "scraps of paper"!) The promised assistance failed to materialize, and, facing massacre from overwhelming numbers of Kurds and Turks, their hereditary enemies, the whole Assyrian nation finally left their homes and, led by their archbishop, fought their way through the mountains to Persia to join the Czarist imperial forces.

Alas, fate was against them. The Russian Revolution having broken out, the imperial troops had melted away. The gallant community, however, managed to hold its own against overwhelming odds in Urmia until a new hope arose. Their old friends the British (who apparently respected Persian neutrality no more than the Russians) were drawing near from the south and sent them messages of encouragement to continue the struggle.

Once again, however, fate was against them. The British were too occupied to send troops as far north as Urmia and the only hope of safety for the Assyrians was to fight their way south to Hamadan. Desperate, after two years of continual fighting, this little nation, set upon by Turks, Kurds, and Persians, began one of the most gallant military retreats which history has to offer. Men, women, children, and flocks, harassed day and night by human enemies, by typhus, cholera, and dysentery, by appalling heat (to which as mountaineers they were unaccustomed), by starvation and thirst, fought their way to Hamadan and British protection; at least some seventy thousand started to fight their way, but less than fifty thousand arrived.

From Hamadan they were transported to a rest camp at Baqubah, near Baghdad, some five hundred miles from their homes! The date was 1919. In the circumstances obtaining at the end of the War, the Assyrians could have been repatriated to their own country, which was the one thing they desired. One half-hearted attempt to do so was actually made, but like most half-hearted attempts, it was a fiasco!

Instead of repatriation, their British protectors had further use for them—as soldiers! They were offered service in a new force called the Iraq Levies, raised and paid for by the Colonial Office and used for the protection of British rule and interests in Iraq.

In simple faith that their future would be safe in our hands they served us loyally and fought our battles until the termination of the British Mandate for Iraq in 1932. Well paid, well fed, well clothed, it suited the books of the British Government to encourage their already fully developed martial ardour, indifferent to the fact that we thereby increased their unpopularity in the strange land where they served us. The Iraqis naturally feared and hated the competent mercenaries we employed in their country, and the Colonial Office must have known the added danger of so using Christian refugees in a Mohammedan country.

In 1925 another opportunity of saving the Assyrians was thrown away. The League of Nations deliniated the frontier between Turkey and Iraq but drew their line **south** of Hakkiari, thus leaving the Assyrian country in Turkey. Had that area contained oil, instead of merely hopes of salvation for human beings who were our Allies, doubtless we should have shown concern; but **we—forgot!**

The stage was now set for the final tragedy. September, 1932, finds Great Britain relinquishing her control over Iraq and making no satisfactory provision for the future or safety of her smallest Ally and former soldiers—the Assyrians. Some obviously futile efforts were made to organize a settlement scheme, but nothing resulted which the Assyrians felt they could accept with reasonable safety for themselves and their families.

(Continued on page 11, column 4)

(Continued from page 6, column 3)

objective means that no city in Britain is safe and that no home in all the land can be sure of escaping. The Spanish towns are hourly expecting an air raid and they are always on the defensive, but still they are being bombed. The first air raid on England would be a sudden one and before the defence forces could function a terrible amount of damage would have been done.

There is but one defence against aerial bombardment and that is the abolition of bombing. But bombing is too efficient a weapon in the modern war machine for it to be abolished. It is useless to talk of humanizing war by abolishing the aeroplane, the submarine, and gas warfare. When war breaks out these weapons will be used.

We do not want to bomb or be bombed. We do not want to torpedo food ships or to have ours torpedoed. We do not want to kill or be killed by poison gas. Then let us forget our hypocritical pose of horror at the bombing of non-combatants, stop talking of scrapping this arm and that arm, and decide, once and for all, in our own selfish interests if you like, to scrap the whole war machine. If we refuse to utilize it, we can make it ineffective with the rust of our abhorrence.

A GUIDE TO PACIFIST ACTION

THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE. Bart. de Ligt. (Introduction by Aldous Huxley.) Routledge. 7s. 6d.

THIS is an important book by an important writer; pacifists should not only read but study it. It is high time that we were given a sensible guide to pacifist action, and here it is, written lucidly and straightforwardly.

It is full of practical information, facts, dates, historical detail, accurate documentation. The work of a scholar, it verges, perhaps, on the academic, and for this reason it should be read in conjunction with other books, of which there are many, whose concern is less with action than the spiritual incentives to that action; otherwise there will be the danger of losing the spirit of pacifism in the letter.

For the most part, this book leaves theory aside and concentrates on practice. It gives excellent historical surveys of non-violent resistance and its effectiveness, and also of the ineffectiveness of violent resistance.

It is a revolutionary handbook, and it is (with the possible exception of R. B. Gregg's) the only really dangerous one that I know, since it outlines the only revolutionary method which, employing the right means to the right ends, can possibly succeed.

The Conquest of Violence suffers, however, from one important lack, of which no doubt Mr. de Ligt is aware and which he will perhaps fill later on. This is the lack of a constructive method of training for collective non-violent resistance.

Before the non-violent army can act effectively, it must, as Mr. de Ligt himself points out, be trained as rigorously in courage, determination, selflessness and, above all, unshakable solidarity, as the violent army (in its different ways and for its different ends) is trained. Mr. de Ligt appends an excellent "plan of campaign" for collective non-violent resistance in peace time or war time.

But action is not directly the consequence of thought. The process is threefold: thought (aspiration toward the ideals of pacifism); being (the realization of those ideals in personal life); and, finally, collective action. At present, whatever our ideals, our training, and so our being, is war-like. Until our being is peaceful, we are powerless to act peacefully with success. No-one would realize this more readily than Mr. de Ligt, and no-one would be more willing to admit that only when we know how to attain peaceful being by the proper methods of group training shall we be able to extract the full value from the instructions for action given in his book.

But, particularly, for study and preparation, this book is of great value now, dealing, as it does, so ably with the third stage in this threefold process. All of us who are prepared not only to renounce war but to work for peace should read it as carefully as we have read Gregg, whose *Power of Non-Violence* it amplifies in many respects.

(Incidentally, it is a pity that this translation from the French of a book originally written in Dutch should be marred here and there by colloquialisms and occasional clumsy phrasing for which I can find no justification in the French text, and by errors which should have been corrected in the proof; nor is an index of names, in a book demanding primarily an index of subjects, by any means adequate.)

R.H.W.

A State Without An Army

PENNSYLVANIA, 1681 - 1736. E. Dingwall and E. A. Heard. C. W. Daniel Co. 3s. 6d.

Reviewed by A. RUTH FRY

THERE have been many accounts written of William Penn and his Holy Experiment, and yet so wonderful and so interesting are the man and his unique work that we can warmly welcome another, which is well worth our study.

In handy form it gives us the story of Penn's initiation of the "State without an Army," compiled from a study of many authorities, and with frequent extracts from them. At the end are given résumés of three little-known tracts written in the 1750's, one favourable to the Quaker Government, one antagonistic, and a third one, which is impartial, a cribed to Benjamin Franklin.

This book does help us to assess the experiment and to study the reasons which finally overthrew it.

Two points seem especially to emerge. First, that the difficulties were both external and internal and that its very success was one of the causes which brought disaster.

The population grew beyond all precedent, "its trade leapt to almost fantastic figures . . . its wealth exceeded all other colonies in America."

This worldly success undermined "the religious status of the Colony and ultimately so overwhelmed the peace-loving, spiritual, and modest Friends as to break down their system, deprive them of their power of government, and make of Pennsylvania a worldly, competitive, commercialized State" (page 87).

Secondly, we see that success did depend on uncompromising fidelity to the Christian ideal. As our authors say,

"the experiment *has demonstrated for all time* that for a brief space *unarmed security was actually attained* by a small human community whilst it remained *true to the essential principles* on which such security must rest" (page 107).

And conversely, when these principles were broken, even a little, danger crept in with fear and the experiment was no longer "holy" nor successful.

Which goes to confirm our belief that our principles are sound, that they are practical, that they are essential, but that we must hold to them with unflinching courage.

Pacifism in a Novel

THIRTY MILLION GAS MASKS. Sarah Campion. Peter Davies. 7s. 6d.

This is an extremely well-written novel revealing what pacifism means, and what it costs, to a woman of intellectual integrity and scrupulous honesty.

It is not a happy story but one which all pacifists would do well to read and ponder.

Judith, the one complete pacifist, twice sees pacifism fail utterly, in this present life and in a second and more promising existence, and she learns from these failures many lessons, chief among them being that the only kind of pacifism which can stand in the last resort is a pacifism based on a faith stronger and surer than the faith of the militarist.

The book ends with a question:

Can we, by resisting with non-resistance, convince anyone that pacifism is practical? . . . Is there no other way out than this, that we must either kill or be killed?

The writer's answer is: "As we are now, none." The Peace Pledge Union exists to change that answer.

S.W.E.

THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE

by Bart de Ligt

with an introduction by ALDOUS HUXLEY

Bart de Ligt is the leader of the Peace movement in Holland

This searching inquiry into the nature of War and Revolution and the plan of the non-violent technique in social reconstruction will command much attention. Aldous Huxley writes "The techniques of non-violent activity are described with a sober precision of language, refreshingly different from the vague well-meaning rhetoric of so much pacifist writing."

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ROUTLEDGE

68-74 CARTER LANE, LONDON, E.C.4

PACIFIST AIR RAID "PRECAUTIONS"?

THE letter from Mr. E. S. Danes, written on behalf of the Little Bromwich P.P.U. group, has brought three such strongly worded protests in reply (PEACE NEWS, November 6) that we should like, as a group, to restate our case.

All three of your correspondents seem to assume that, having acquired some little skill in first aid work, the members of our group would co-operate with the Government in air raid "precautions" schemes. Our group will, as always, choose its causes. To many of us it seems that some knowledge of first aid will make us, to that extent, more fully equipped pacifists.

Actually, as our group discussed this problem, we were at great pains to dissociate our efforts from official A.R.P. schemes. The discussion arose in the first place because some members of the group felt that to do nothing now to minimize the suffering incidental to future air raids laid us open—mistakenly, we agree—to the charge of passivism.

Mr. Evans seems to assume that our group finds so little to do that, in desperation, we are turning to first aid classes. Without going into details, we can assure Mr. Evans that we are happily overworked: one of our most recent activities happens to have been the founding of a P.P.U. group in Mr. Evans's own district of Small Heath.

To the polemics of Nurse Reed's letter we do not propose to reply. Does not she herself express some doubts as to their value? We only wish that she lived a little nearer; so that, as a good pacifist, she might give us a little of her own skill in dealing with suffering humanity. She could then herself judge of the uses to which we want to put that skill.

LITTLE BROMWICH P.P.U. GROUP.

56 Kenwood Road, Birmingham, 9.

For those who agree that all war is evil, it is immaterial who wins. To refuse assistance in any action calculated to harm other human beings is surely different from a refusal of assistance in action calculated to minimize the evil of war.

If cooperation in A.R.P. would help our government to win the war, conversely non-cooperation would help the enemy government to win. Is that any more desirable?

Surely we should wish our air raids on foreign cities to be as ineffective as possible. Can we be so illogical as not to strive for the same end in our cities? The A.R.P. cannot directly harm others. But they may help.

It is true they may encourage a war mentality, but is it again logical for those who believe that the present policies tend toward war not to take every possible step to lessen the evils of the result they expect? To say that these precautions are of little use is no argument for jettisoning them altogether, but only for proposing better ones.

D. A. N. TOD.

Weaver's Cottage,
Chalford Hill, Stroud.

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PEACE NEWS
EARLY

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Western Powers in China

IF you print other letters such as that from I. Mason (October 30), and comment on them as you commented on that, I shall feel so discouraged over PEACE NEWS that I shall believe it does more harm than good. In the same issue Middleton Murry quoted Hardy:

If way to the better there be,
It exacts a full look at the worst.

Because Hongkong was a small fishing village before it was taken by Great Britain and fortified—and thus strangled the port of Canton—does not make its taking less unjust.

Any reading of the numerous "treaties" which China was forced to sign would show that the concessions or "settlements" were also exacted, and that, far from being purchases from free sellers, were taken from the unwilling and the forced; and usually huge indemnities, also exacted, accompanied the exacting of the concessions.

The "concessions" are **not** free to all. They are governed independently of the Chinese Government and those not thought desirable by the "foreign" element are not allowed to live in them. Perhaps Mr. Mason has forgotten the park in Shanghai which for years had the sign at its entrance "No Chinese or dogs allowed."

These ports where the concessions rule are the real causes of the possibility of the Powers being able to dictate to China what she should receive and what she shouldn't, thus preventing her having a tariff for revenue and forcing opium on her and making the prevention of smuggling practically impossible (for the Chinese Government cannot judge or punish offenders if they are in the concession limits, unless the concession authorities see fit).

If there is to be a freer, better world it exacts a full look at Western imperialism, which is at this moment greater than Japan's even aspires to be (and I am fully conscious that Japan's aspiration is great).

I beg every reader of PEACE NEWS, who is honest in trying to find a better way, to read at least the following books: *How Britain Governs Africa* and *Africa and World Peace*, by George Padmore, *Les Secrets de l'Afrique Noire*, by Marcel Sauvage, *The White Sahibs in India*, by Reginald Reynolds, *S O S Indo-Chine*, by Andrée Viollis, *China Captive or Free*, by Gilbert Reid, *The Problem of China*, by Bertrand Russell, *China in Revolt*, by T'ang Liang-Li, *What is Right with China*, by O. D. Rasmussen, and *British Imperialism in China*, by E. Burns; there are many others which bring the subject up to date.

ANNA MELISSA GRAVES.

29 rue Fort Barreau, Geneva.

Embarrassing

When a man refuses to pay income tax it is very embarrassing for those of us who are members of the Inland Revenue Department, and who are trying to convince our colleagues that "the miracle of love is that the enemy, loved, is disarmed."

RONALD A. KING.

83 Fernley Road, Birmingham, 11.

Interest

In reply to Arthur H. Weller (November 6):

1. In merely lending his money a person renders no **personal** service to the community.

2. In a community that was organized on the basis of service and for the highest fulfilment of its members, the latter would place their savings in the hands of the State for safe keeping and not for interest. In such a State there would be no risk of loss, as there would be no speculation; the money could be drawn at will. Hence it would have no title to exact usury from the community. Surely it is the aim of all pacifists to seek to create such a community.

3. In such a community all that a landlord would be entitled to receive would be compensation for wear and tear, not the element of usury which is included in "rent" today. But, as I point out in the pamphlet, the abolition of interest would so cheapen services and commodities as to cause all to benefit from that condition except the rich, which is as it should be. In other words, the abolition of interest would bring us a stage nearer to justice and brotherhood.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

Victoria Avenue, Quinton,
Birmingham.

Floor Scrubbing!

I'm still scratching my head about the article by "a strictly rationalistic pacifist." (November 6, page 5.)

I am anxious to work for peace—I am working for peace—but I'm blowed if I would scrub floors, teach languages, do secretarial work to increase the funds of my local pacifist group and take bread out of the mouths of people who have to earn their living out of scrubbing floors, teaching languages, doing secretarial work.

Trade unionists have a word for the sort of thing "a strictly rationalistic pacifist" would have us do. It is "black-leg" labour.

As for scrubbing floors, "a strictly rationalistic pacifist" will never have to demean himself. No sensible woman would pay him 2s. an hour when a far more competent charlady would do the job for 1s. an hour and less.

Pacifism as a way of life is bourgeois snobbery. It is as impudent to ask the average man or woman to live pacifism as to ask a miner on the job to keep his face clean. We can't all be pocket Richard Greggs.

But we have a job of work to do. That is to end war. All our energies and propaganda should be devoted to that gigantic end.

A. E. SMITH.

23 Bullroyd Drive, Bradford.

Puzzle this out if you can

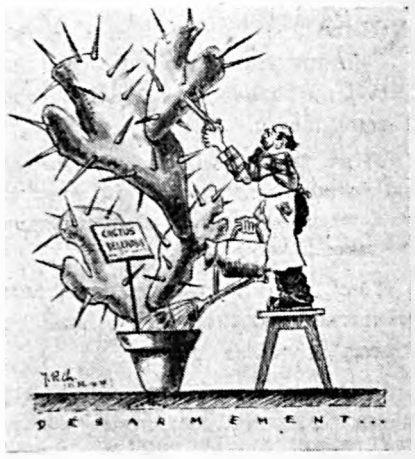
I RECENTLY read a story in which the public hangman committed suicide rather than let his daughter, who had never known how her father made his living, be disgraced.

Why should the hangman be a pariah and boycotted by decent people, while a professional soldier, if his rank is high enough, is welcome in the best society in the land?

Hangman and soldier are government servants, doing their duty according to their lights. Both are paid to murder the country's enemies; but while one is the member of an "honourable" profession the other, like the sewage remover and butcher in Japan, belongs to a despised caste.

E.D.

DISARMAMENT



The best answer we have received to the question "Why should pacifists ignore the idea of reduction and limitation of armaments?" (PEACE NEWS, October 30, Letters) is this cartoon illustrating the idea that disarmament can be effected by cutting off the prickles, while feeding the roots, of the war cactus.

Peace Army

I was sorry to find among the various tributes to Dick Sheppard no mention [except in PEACE NEWS, November 6, page 3.—ED.] of what may in the end prove to have been the greatest work of his magnificent life.

I refer to the suggestion which he made in 1932, along with Herbert Gray and Maude Royden, that an "army" of people "should volunteer to place themselves unarmed between the combatants" in the Sino-Japanese conflict of that year.

Although the suggestion immediately gained the support of the late Brig.-Gen. Crozier and was described by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations as an offer which "it would be very far from his thoughts to dismiss as fantastic," it proved to be too visionary for the mass of the people. The scheme fell through for lack of support, and "Dick's" energies were diverted to the movement which blossomed out as the P.P.U.

His vision still stays with some.

OWEN R. PAGE.

60 Sandringham Avenue, Leicester.

Anglicans

I write this letter within a few hours of that astonishing funeral service in St. Paul's Cathedral.

In a few days' time I was to have lunched with Canon Sheppard and we were going to talk over how we could encourage communicant members of the P.P.U. to join our Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

While the P.P.U. works in the wider political sphere in England, the A.P.F. has to do the same sort of work within the membership of our communion. For this work we need the support of as many communicants as we can possibly get.

I know that "Dick" would want me to write this letter to ask all Anglican communicant members to send me their names at once for enrolment in our Fellowship.

R. H. LE MESSURIER.
Honorary Secretary,
Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

Holy Cross Vicarage,
47 Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

THE NEXT STEP?

This personal opinion, by
SIDNEY GEORGE CONBEER
is of particular interest in view of the publication of an important book on non-violence (reviewed on page eight).

AT the first annual meeting of the Birmingham Council of the P.P.U., the following was added to the Constitution:

To give the lead for a vigorous policy of non-violent non-cooperation, and resistance to all war preparations, and to aim to remove the causes of war.

I feel that the time has now come when members of the P.P.U. should be "doing" as well as talking.

No longer should we be content only to say that when war breaks out we will refuse to take part in it—war could not occur if the preparations were not made beforehand. **Therefore he who cooperates in preparations for war, or who does nothing to hinder them is, in effect, supporting the war method.**

By the method of non-violent non-cooperation, along Mr. Gandhi's lines, carried out by absolute pacifists, we could at once make clear to all and sundry, in spite of the present press boycott, that we are against the immoral and illogical preparations for war. People would also begin to see that we are ready to suffer for the cause of international peace.

The sacrifices made by pacifists in war time, whether they are confined in prison or concentration camp, deprived of food tickets, or even shot by their own countrymen, will not be noticed by the mass of the people, since they themselves will be suffering terribly from the effects of aerial attack.

Sacrifices made now, in peace time, by pacifists, will strike the public imagination, and remove the erroneous idea that we are cowards ready to let others suffer for us.

Further, it is clear that pacifism is attracting chiefly well-read and intelligent people, and that scarcely any impression is being made on the unthinking masses.

The way to attract this class of person is not through logical argument, whether in speech or print, but through the eye: they must see something which will appeal by its simplicity, courage, resolution, and idealism. These things appeal to the unsophisticated, as much as logicality appeals to the cultivated.

An act of non-violent non-cooperation, if met by aggression on the part of the police, will rouse shocked sympathy in the hearts of the crowd, and will also create a desire to know **why** the sufferer chooses to take the risk.

Hence, the knowledge of constructive pacifism will become "news," and will begin to give topics for the ordinary conversation of "the man in the street." **Then** it will be that the pure logic of constructive pacifism will appeal to the mass of our countrymen, just as the logic of "Votes for Women" is now apparent to all.

In our efforts to defeat the warmakers, we must have the same concentration, the same resolution, the same careful planning and foresight, the same readiness to face dangers and sacrifices as the army is called on to show.

To all these qualities there must be added, by the pacifist, a discipline superior to that of the soldier, for it must be not the mechanical discipline of a machine, but the rational discipline of free individuals, directed toward the building-up of a new world order, where injustice and brutality shall be unknown.

But to have full effect on the minds, hearts, and imaginations of our fellow-men, this concentration, resolution, foresight, courage, and discipline, must be placed in the full light of day *now*, and the way is along the line of non-violent non-cooperation.

Drama Notes

"*Flowers of the Forest*"

JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S moving play, *Flowers of the Forest*, was recently presented by the Old Brondesburians at Kilburn Grammar School.

It shows how soon people forget the horror and futility of war, and are as ready to consider a pacifist as weak, as they were before and during the Great War.

Naomi, played by Joan Hill, was admirable as the young daughter of the Rev. Percy Huntbach, played with a sincere touch by David Oulagi, and as the wife of Lewis Jacklin, nursing a secret memory of Richard, her lover who was killed in the War.

Her sister Mercia was splendidly patriotic in breaking her engagement to Thomas, whom she denounced as pro-German on his departure to the front, and later as the spinster still believing that she was right. Doris M. Jenkins carried this part successfully.

Of the male cast, George Depotex was outstanding as a young consumptive, Leonard Dobie. We sympathized with his incurable disease and were convinced by his pacifist ideals.

John W. Edser, who produced the play, as well as playing the part of Richard Newton-Clare, did not quite convey the sensitivity of the poet as well as the excitement of a young non-com. about to take part in the war.

Eric V. Cockayne was a good-natured and sincere Thomas Lindsay, and Dorothy Lucas, otherwise perfect as the vicar's wife, belied her white hair by too young a make-up.

Leslie F. Venn, in quiet middle-age, as Lewis Jacklin, was a little too still and self-conscious. A few careful gestures and movements would have made his performance really outstanding.

Betty Ward won our hearts by her loyalty, as Beryl Hodgson, to her fiancé, Leonard, despite his inevitably early death.

Dorothy Lane, as Matheson, and Nora Gibbs, as Miss Ettles, the maids of the present and the past, completed the cast.

The settings of the present day were very pleasant and neat, but the Rev. Huntbach's war-time home was cramped, and the audience uncomfortably anticipated difficulty as the characters clambered between the chairs. However, all went without a hitch, and a full house paid credit to a well-produced play.

JOHN ATHEY.

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MEETINGS

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, Bloomsbury (Hart Street, W.C.1). The Annual "Service of Affirmation" in connexion with "The World Alliance of Friendship" will be held on Sunday next, November 21. Sung Eucharist 11 a.m. Preacher: Rev. R. E. Burlingham. Pacifists specially welcome. Prayers at 4.15, followed by tea (4d.) and discussion of peace problems.

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PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

By the Lobby Correspondent of PEACE NEWS

THE debate on the Air Raid Precautions Bill was an amazing performance. Only the first part of it had taken place before these notes had to be despatched. But enough was available to provide us with a picture of political ineptitude rather worse than the average of those displayed to us by the National Government. Not that there was much to choose in this respect between Government and Opposition.

At a low estimate, said the Home Secretary, more than the whole of the 300 tons of bombs which fell in the last war could in the next be dropped in 24 hours.

* * *

Mr. Herbert Morrison's "reasoned" amendment, to adopt the usual euphemism for a most unreasoned attitude was "conscious of the regrettable necessity . . . to protect life and property . . . in air raids."

Where is the evidence from any responsible expert that anything can be devised to protect either one or the other in air raids? Mr. Morrison knows there is none or he would have mentioned it. Why does the Labour Party continue to insist on using this farrago of nonsense about adequate protection of life against air raids? None of them, on either front or back benches, showed an inkling of an idea as to what such protection could mean unless it were Dr. Haden Guest's plea that the Government should pay more attention to the evacuation of the public.

Lord Wolmer warned the Opposition not to expect too much from evacuation. In any case, you couldn't have the general public running along roads, he said, which would be wanted for purposes of general military mobilization. Precisely! Sir Samuel Hoare put the same truth in another way when he said,

> We cannot attempt an ideal system of protection. Such a system would run into thousands of millions. The country could not afford it and it might take hundreds of millions from the even *more important duties* of the Air Force.

The italics are mine. They just re-emphasize my main point: in war the general public becomes a minor consideration.

Meanwhile, as Sir Samuel Hoare said, the householder would be told how to make a room in his house gas-proof. Did Sir Samuel know how such a miracle was to happen in the average East End slum? Not at all! He went on: "If that were impossible, there would be the shelters available for him."

He could have added, just as reasonably, there were also the cemeteries available. And all this is to be done, we are assured, at well under a twopenny rate. So the Government can lead us to meet death cheaply if not bravely.

These air raid precautions are nothing more or less than a gigantic fraud perpetrated by a Government that regards this country as a nation of simpletons. Let the Labour Party beware lest it give, even by the innuendo of its "reasoned" amendment, any support to this folly.

James H. Hudson

Pacifist Party Has Youth on its Side

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

BOTH for those who have made up their minds that a new political party is an irresponsible, impulsive act, and for those who are convinced that it is the beginning of the political establishment of pacifism, the remarkable youthfulness of the first annual conference of the Christian Pacifist Party was significant.

Standing for a few moments in silent tribute to Dick Sheppard was the first act of the more than three dozen members and friends when they met on Saturday afternoon in the Shakespeare Rooms, Birmingham.

In his address as chairman, the Rev. Ingli James likened the charge that the new party would split the pacifist ranks to the usual suggestion of non-pacifist peace-workers that, because they cannot agree with pacifists, pacifists must therefore try to agree with them!

The author of *Security by Disarmament*, Mr. Norman Robins, made a plea for the alteration of the party's name to the Christian Party. (So much for those who would change it to the Pacifist Party!)

It was impossible, he said, to isolate pacifism from the other problems confronting society. To put in "an adjective" was to suggest that Christianity was not enough. He contended it was all-inclusive, whereas pacifism was "sectarian."

But in consideration of the question, and especially in the vote on that section of the constitution, it was clear that most regarded a title as something by which a thing is known, and so they chose "Christian Pacifist Party" because of what is understood by the words.

The rest of the constitution was also approved.

Reports were given by the Coventry and Swansea branches, the latter reporting the existence (started by a number of Congregational ministers) of a sympathetic organization called the Christian Political Party, whose creed includes renunciation of war, the sharing of the world's resources, and the socialization of industry.

LONDON CONFERENCE

Among individual reports was one by Gordon Turner, of Muswell Hill, who revealed that "in a week or two" there was to be a conference of all London members, at which it was hoped to start several branches.

A manifesto addressed to the pacifists of Great Britain was approved by the conference. (It is hoped to give publicity to this in next week's PEACE NEWS.)

The secretary's report showed that:

So far as the press was concerned (national, religious, and peace journals), PEACE NEWS was by far the party's best medium of publicity, and deserved wide support.

There was scope for much useful work in visiting peace groups, in which all could help, either by speaking or obtaining introductions.

At the conventions held by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, "obviously considerable sympathy" had been revealed.

The total result of the party's efforts to date was a total membership of 91, and 88 individuals sympathetic in varying degrees.

Officers elected included: chairman, Rev. H. Ingli James; vice-chairman, Gordon E. Turner; secretary, Mr. W. L. Williams.

Haig Statue's 'Invisible Motto'

AT the end of a discussion with a non-pacifist friend upon the merits of the recently unveiled statue in Whitehall, the following conversation ensued:—

Self: *But surely the motto is the best thing about it?*

Friend: *Oh! I didn't see that. What is the motto?*

Self: *"It is your business to make my business impossible."*

Friend: *Yes, that is very good.*

The following sequel is expected at any time.

Friend: *I've been again and can't find that motto.*

Self: *It's there all right, but you need vision and the eye of faith to see it.*

F.T.B.

The Realist Way to Peace

From Our Own Correspondent

"Let us decide to be witnesses for all that is noble in human aspiration. Let us stand resolute for a vision of a new civilization in which men and women may really live as deep down in their hearts they long to live." This was the appeal made by Andrew Stewart when he addressed a peace demonstration in the Friends' Meeting House, Middlesbrough, recently.

Speaking on "Pacifism: The Realist Way to Peace" he said the pacifist began by rejecting war as cruel, indiscriminate, and futile. But pacifism was not simply saying "no." It emphasized the need for an individual mode of life which tended to minimize the possibility of conflict, and ultimately render conflict impossible.

The immediate attitude to war was a question which every individual had to answer for himself. It was a personal responsibility which could not be delegated to any other individual or to the State.

The tide of events seemed to be flowing toward another war. Were they going to float with the tide to chaos and barbarism, or stand solid against it for order and civilization?

DICK SHEPPARD'S
LAST ARTICLE
(two days before he passed away)
'The Labour Party and Armaments'
IN
'FORWARD'
Nov. 6—2d.
COPIES FROM P.P.U. OFFICE
COLLET'S BOOKSHOP, 66 Charing Cross Road
KIT'S BOOKSHOP, 64 St. Martin's Lane
OR POST FREE 2½D
REGINALD STAMP, 35 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1

THE ASSYRIANS

(Continued from page 7)

The inevitable trouble followed and terminated in the slaughter of unarmed Assyrians by the Iraq Army in the following August. Twelve years after their leaving the refugee camp at Baqubah another refugee camp had to be formed for them at Mosul. Once more the Assyrians had suffered massacre and were destitute. Since then the League of Nations has tried to settle the problem of the remaining twenty thousand. Long negotiations with Brazil for settlement in that country finally broke down, to be followed by equally abortive plans for their removal to the hinterland of British Guiana.

This latter inaccessible spot was the sole offer of our mighty empire, upon which the sun never sets, to find a home for twenty thousand people whom we had sacrificed to our imperialism.

Next the French Government offered land in Syria; but here again practical difficulties arose, and it is indeed difficult to see why we should expect the French to pay our debts for us.

Finally the League of Nations has now given up the attempt to rescue the remnant of these unfortunate people, a decision which provoked Lord Hugh Cecil's heartfelt letter referred to at the beginning of this article.

> The Assyrians are to be thrown to the wolves—they did their bit in the British Forces—so well that they are now a nuisance instead of an asset and we are, at present, too busy preparing for the next war to care whether the surviving twenty thousand are massacred for having served us in the last one.

The Assyrians were magnificent soldiers, as smart as the Guards on parade, brave as lions in the face of the enemy, and capable of loyalties which won for them the personal devotion of the British officers under whom they served. **So much for the glory of war.**

The present Mar Shimun, now penniless in England and forbidden by our Government even to plead his people's cause or to help raise money to ease their sufferings, may think with some bitterness of the many war medals bearing the head of the King of England—which his followers were formerly so proud to wear—and which is all they now possess in exchange for the land of their forefathers, practical independence, and their simple prosperity. Yet such is the power of military propaganda that—from my personal knowledge of them—I believe they would again flock to the colours were our Government to call them—as indeed it would not hesitate to do.

We used the Assyrians to our shame for our own material ends—for this reason we are heavily in their debt—but even had we never made use of them, can we refuse to help the remnant of this gallant, peasant community that has been almost destroyed because it has been simple enough to believe that its loyalty and devotion would bring at least the consideration that one friend gives to another?

It is, of course, possible for us to help them if we really wish to do so.

TOO LATE TO CLASSIFY

PAX PLAYERS. A new Croydon group wishes to cast three plays. Will interested P.P.U. members phone Mrs. Every, Thornton Heath 1510, before November 24.

FRIENDS' BOOK CENTRE
EUSTON ROAD
Do you know of this shop where you may examine at leisure and in comfort the latest books on religious, social and international problems?
Opposite Euston Station Phone EUSton 3602

Peace News

November 20, 1937

Classified Advertisements on page 10

KING'S WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH
Duke Street, Oxford Street, W.1
(opposite Selfridges)
'PEACE' SERVICES
Wednesdays at 6.45 p.m.
November 24: Speaker, Rev. Leslie Artingstall
December 1: Speaker, Percy W. Bartlett

Dick Sheppard's Last Venture

"DICK SHEPPARD'S last day in this world was marked by an event which caused him greater happiness than almost anything that had occurred for a long time," said the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon in a statement to PEACE NEWS.

On that Saturday the Dean and Chapter agreed to his request that there might be a weekly celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the crypt of St. Paul's, to which he would especially invite those who were working with him in the cause of peace.

The Rev. Paul Gliddon, who was associated with him in this venture, and with whom he planned the first celebration, added:

With a kindness for which Dick Sheppard would have been deeply grateful, the Dean and Chapter, who do not share his pacifist views, have nevertheless given me permission to fulfil the wishes of our friend and to hold these celebrations every Wednesday morning at 7.45 until the end of the year, when the position will be reviewed. Naturally the crypt will be open to any who may wish to be present.

Those who are loud in their condemnation of the Church of England may ask whether anywhere else a man as critical of Anglicanism as Dick Sheppard felt himself bound to be would still be loved so dearly by the communion to which he belonged, or whether most bodies of men, confronted with an arrangement for which they had no special love and for permitting which they might even themselves be attacked, would not have found in the death of its sponsor a convenient excuse for the abandonment of his scheme.

Outside St. George's, Hart Street, W.C., a church that was very dear to Dick Sheppard, you will find P.P.U. posters and others wholly pacifist in character (writes a correspondent). Inside you will hear preaching that is uncompromisingly pacifist.

There is no paid choir: the singing is congregational and more singers are badly needed, specially men (singing practice, Wednesdays, 6.30 p.m.). Pacifists, while welcome at all services, are specially asked to note that the eucharist at 8 a.m. on every Saturday is specially "a peace service"; so is evensong at 6 p.m. each Friday. Tomorrow (Sunday), the 11 a.m. eucharist will be followed by the annual service of affirmation of "The World Alliance."

Three-Point Pledge

"Believing that war is a crime against humanity" those present at a meeting of the Wokingham Women's Cooperative Guild last week renewed their pledge "to work for total disarmament, the removal of all causes of war, and the establishment of a new social order based on the pacifist principle of cooperation for the common good."

SHELLS OFFER RECALLED

Mr. R. R. Stokes, managing director of the Ipswich firm which offered to make shells for the Government on a "no profit, no loss" basis, will be chairman of a Peace Pledge Union meeting in the Public Hall, Ipswich, on Wednesday (see Diary).

DIARY OF THE WEEK

November

20 (Sat.) 3.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street, **LEICESTER;** Midlands P.P.U. Committee.
7.30 p.m. Friends' School Hall, **GREAT AYTON,** Yorkshire; local P.P.U. group and others present *Moloch,* by Winifred Carter.
8 p.m. Carver Institute, **MARPLE;** Canon Stuart Morris, Rev. L. G. Pronger, A. Joseph Brayshaw, and Rev. Carleton Thompson (chairman); P.P.U.

21 (Sun.) 3 p.m. Swarthmore Settlement, Mutley Plain, **PLYMOUTH;** H. Runham Brown; P.P.U.
6.30 p.m. Christ Church, Woburn Place, **LONDON, W.C.1;** Rev. R. E. Burlingham on "Youth and International Friendship."

22 (Mon.) 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Broad Wier, **BRISTOL;** Canon Stuart Morris and Harold Bing (chairman); P.P.U.
8 p.m. Wesleyan Guild, Springfield Hall, **LAMBETH;** Maurice Rowntree; P.P.U.
8 p.m. Westgate Chapel, **LEWES;** Frank Hancock on "Prevention of War"; League of Nations Union.
8.15 p.m. Town Hall, **HAMMERSMITH;** Canon C. E. Raven, Capt. P. Mumford, and Mrs. Arnold; P.P.U. and F.o.R.

23 (Tues.) 1.20—2 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, **LONDON, N.W.1;** Gerald Bailey on "New Trends in the Peace Movement"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
7 p.m. Conway Hall, **HOLBORN;** Bertrand Russell on "The Pacifist Case;" Conway Discussion Circle.
7.30 p.m. Central Hall, **DERBY;** Lord Ponsonby, Rev. Henry Carter, Miss Mary Gamble, and Wilfred Wellock; P.P.U.
7.45 p.m. Alexandra Hall, St. Peter's Road, **BOURNEMOUTH;** debate: "Is the Policy of the P.P.U. a Practical Proposition?"; for, Nigel Spottiswoode, Mr. Ellacott, and Mr. G. Barrow; against, Mr. H. Woodlands and Mr. F. Sydenham; League of Nations Union and P.P.U.
8 p.m. Corn Exchange, **LEWES;** James H. Hudson and Rev. D. W. Langridge; F.o.R.
8 p.m. Cabin Hall, **CUFFLEY;** Rev. B. C. Hopson and Dr. Alice Lloyd - Williams (chairman); P.P.U.
8 p.m. Ruskie Hall, 63 Upper Richmond Road, **PUTNEY;** cinema show of *Kameradschaft* and film talks; P.P.U.

24 (Wed.) 6.45 p.m. King's Weigh House Church, Duke Street, Oxford Street, **LONDON, W.1;** peace service.
7.45 p.m. Blackley Institute, Rochdale Road, **MANCHESTER;** Wilfred Wellock, Miss C. M. Waddington, A. Joseph Brayshaw, and Rabbi Dr. S. M. Lehrman (chairman); P.P.U.
8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY;** open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.
8 p.m. Public Hall, **IPSWICH;** Canon Stuart Morris, J. Middleton Murry, and R. R. Stokes (chairman); P.P.U.
8 p.m. Masonic Buildings, High Street, **TONBRIDGE;** debate on "Economic Sanctions" between local branches of League of Nations Union and P.P.U.
8 p.m. Brotherhood Hall, Chingford Road, **CHINGFORD;** inaugural meeting; F.o.R.

25 (Thurs.) 1.10—2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4;** Cecil H. Wilson on The Parliamentary Pacifist Group; City P.P.U. group.
5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4;** Takayuki Eguchi on "Japan and the Japanese"; City P.P.U. group.
7.30 p.m. Miners' Welfare Hall, **HOYLAND,** Doncaster; Canon Stuart Morris; P.P.U.
8 p.m. Free Christian Church Hall, Hallgate, **DONCASTER;** Canon Stuart Morris, James Hudson, and Miss E. Thorneycroft; P.P.U.
8 p.m. Withington Town Hall, **MANCHESTER;** Wilfred Wellock, Dr. Maldwyn L. Edwards, Mrs. Winifred Garnett, and Rev. S. Mossop (chairman); P.P.U.
8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, **LEICESTER;** discussion on the Pacifist Political Party; Christian Pacifist Fellowship and P.P.U.
8 p.m. Town Hall, **PETERSFIELD;** film show, *Kameradschaft;* P.P.U.

26 (Fri.) 8 p.m. Pendleton Cooperative Hall, Broughton Road, **SALFORD;** Wilfred Wellock, Rev. B. P. Burnett, and Mrs. Winterbottom (chairman); P.P.U.

27 (Sat.) BRISTOL; 3—5 p.m. St. Augustine's the Less; Quiet Afternoon; conductor, Rev. T. Brock Richards; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.
LONDON, W.C.1; 3—8.15 p.m. London Welsh Association Hall, Gray's Inn Road; Workers' Conference; F.o.R.
MACCLESFIELD; 8 p.m. Town Hall; Laurence Housman, Douglas J. J. Owen, and Mrs. Russell Brayshaw (chairman); P.P.U.

28 (Sun.) GOLDERS GREEN; 3 p.m. Hippodrome; George Lansbury, Rev. Donald O. Soper, Prof. C. E. M. Joad, Miss Mary Gamble, Rabbi John Harris, and Max Plowman; P.P.U.
LONDON, W.C.1; 6.30 p.m. Christ Church, Woburn Square; Canon C. E. Raven on "Pacificism"; P.P.U.
MANCHESTER; 8.15 p.m. Albert Hall, Peter Street; Laurence Housman, James H. Hudson, Canon Stuart Morris, and Miss Rose Simpson (Women's Cooperative Guild); P.P.U.

Conference on Community Life

"The conviction has been gaining ground amongst a number of P.P.U. members that nothing less than a new way of life based on cooperative living and community service can demonstrate fully and positively the principles for which we all stand," declare the conveners of a conference, to be held at Kingsley Hall Settlement, Powis Street, Bow, E., on December 4, which will endeavour to get a clear view of the practical issues involved in translating this conviction into action.

There will be two sessions, at 2.30 and 6 p.m., and several existing communities will be represented. The date was fixed and arrangements notified before the P.P.U. Albert Hall dedication meeting was announced for the same day. It is believed, however, that a few members may feel that their personal dedication lies especially along those paths which the conference will seek to explore.

Those interested are asked to give notice of their intention to be present as soon as possible to the conveners, Herbert Shipley and Leslie Stubbings, 21 Eversley Road, Charlton, S.E.7.

The Pacifist's Job

From Our Own Correspondent

It is the pacifist's job to lead people to truth and to help men who refuse to kill, said Mr. A. R. Allen, leader of Birkenhead Pacifist Group, at a week-end conference held by Liverpool Fellowship of Christian Pacifists.

Mr. Alwyn Pritchard, chairman of the Liverpool Fellowship of Reconciliation, who spoke on "The Place, Prospects, and Methods of Pacifism in our Civilization," urged those present to trust the inner certainties of themselves, to help men to see "goodness" and make it the policy of the nation.

Coming Shortly

December 3, 7.45 p.m. Corn Exchange, **LEICESTER;** debate on Pacifism between Lord Ponsonby and Harold Nicolson, M.P.

What is the pacifist attitude to events in Spain to-day?
READ
"SPAIN, A CHALLENGE TO PACIFISM"
(Price 2d.)
By H. RUNHAM BROWN
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The War Resisters' International,
11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex
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